

DDI 783773

Executive Registry
78-8986/7

9 JUN 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence
VIA: Deputy Director of Central Intelligence
FROM: [] Acting Deputy Director for Operations
SUBJECT: Submission of Paper on Ukrainian Emigre Group to the SCC

1. Action Requested: It is requested that the attached paper be released to the members of the Special Coordination Committee. During a meeting of the SCC on 16 May 1978, Dr. Brzezinski requested additional information concerning the Ukrainian emigre group which we support as part of the covert action program against the Soviet Union. The attached paper responds to this request, and asks for authority to add \$ [] to the FY 78 budget for this group (this money is available in FY 78 year-end savings). Additional information on this organization, including identifying data, is attached for your use as backup, or to hand to Dr. Brzezinski if required.

2. The release of the attached paper is recommended. We believe that this item will be raised at the SCC meeting scheduled for 20 June, at which time we understand that the Department of State will submit its long delayed policy paper on national minorities in the USSR.

[] []
[] []

Attachment, a/s

cc: DDCI

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3020
21 WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

UNCLASSIFIED
EXEMPT FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND
DECLASSIFICATION

CONCUR: But we should be sure this is a high priority since there will be a number of claims on FY 78 gear and money. *[Signature]*

[Signature]
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

10 JUN 1978
Date

Approved for release to the Special Coordination Committee:

[Signature]
Director of Central Intelligence

12 JUN 1978
Date

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence
VIA: Deputy Director of Central Intelligence
FROM: [] Acting Deputy Director for Operations
SUBJECT: Submission of Paper on Ukrainian Emigre
Group to the SCC

Attachment, a/s

cc: DDCI

CONCUR:

Deputy Director of Central Intelligence Date

Approved for release to the Special Coordination Committee
Special Activities Working Group:

Director of Central Intelligence Date

DDO/DCSE/SA [] 2:dlv (R 9115 8 June 78)

Distribution:

Orig - DCI for approval & return to C/CAS for distribution
of attachment to NSC for SCC/SAWG

- 1 - DCI
- 1 - DDCI
- 1 - E.R. (dummy)
- 1 - A/DDO
- 1 - DDO Registry (dummy)
- 1 - C/EUR
- 1 - C/CAS
- 1 - C/SE
- 1 - DCSE/SA
- 1 - SE/SA/CA

SUBJECT: Ukrainian Emigre Organization

1. This memorandum provides additional information about the Ukrainian organization, as requested at the 16 May meeting of the SCC, and requests authority to add \$[] to the FY 78 budget for this group.

2. The organization is a moderate Ukrainian group, founded in 1946, which has maintained a low profile in Ukrainian emigre disputes, working effectively with a wide spectrum of emigre organizations and striving to be a positive and unifying force. It plays down national animosities and stresses that the enemy is Soviet communism. It advocates a policy of self-determination for the Ukrainians, rather than adopting a rigidly separatist stance. The primary activity of the group is publishing books, pamphlets and a monthly journal in the Ukrainian language and infiltrating this material into the Soviet Ukraine. The Agency has supported this group in its work for over 25 years, and the project is an integral part of the covert action program against the Soviet Union, as approved by President Carter on 4 March 1977.

3. In July 1977, in response to a request from Mr. David Aaron for ideas on expanded covert action against the Soviet Union, the Agency submitted a proposal to use this Ukrainian group as a vehicle for increased covert action against some of the other national minority groups in the USSR. The proposal was considered by the Special Activities Working Group (SAWG) on 5 October 1977, but a decision on it was postponed pending preparation of a paper on U.S. policy towards national minorities in the USSR by the Department of State.

4. In its submission, the Agency also proposed to move the headquarters of the Ukrainian organization from the United States to Germany. The reason for this move was both to improve the effectiveness of the organization by consolidating its operational headquarters presently located in New York, with the publishing office, which is already located in Munich. We also believe that the security of our contacts with the

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR
SECRET/SENSITIVE
AND TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

SECRET/SENSITIVE

EXEMPT FROM AUTOMATIC DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION
OF E.O. 11652
DATE IMPOSSIBLE TO DETERMINE
(CLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY)

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organization would be improved if we dealt with them abroad, and that such a move would alleviate concern about possible domestic fallout of Agency covert actions. The move would involve the transfer of 2 or 3 people, at least one is a U.S. citizen. We anticipate that some members of the present New York office who are U.S. citizens, will choose to remain in the United States; however, the Agency's contacts with the organization will shift to Europe.

5. At the same meeting of SAWG, the Department of State voiced reservations about the proposed move of the Ukrainian group headquarters to Munich. Mr. Aaron directed the State Department and the Agency to meet and work out these objections, since there was a clear consensus that it was desirable to encourage the Ukrainian organization to move its headquarters from the United States, whether or not its work was to be expanded. Consequently, on 11 November 1977, the Agency provided State Department representatives with a comprehensive briefing on the Ukrainian group and its activities, and with details on the proposed move. After this meeting, the State Department informally indicated that it had no further objections to the proposed move to Munich but continued to reserve judgment on expansion of the national minorities program until their policy paper was completed.

6. Our present proposal, presented at the 16 May meeting of the SCC, requests funds solely to permit transfer of the Ukrainian group's headquarters to Germany, and to permit a modest increase in the group's ongoing publication and distribution program directed at Ukrainians. A decision on whether the Ukrainian group should be encouraged to expand its activities to other Soviet national minorities can be deferred until the State Department's policy paper has been considered.

7. We request authority to add \$[] to the FY 78 budget for the Ukrainian group, by reprogramming of Agency funds. \$[] of this amount is for one-time expenses to implement the move of the group's headquarters to Germany. It does not represent either a new initiative or significant change in the project's funding. \$[] is for a 20% increase to the approved FY 78 budget of \$[] for this project. It is intended in part to compensate for loss

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in dollar purchasing power which has hurt this project in this fiscal year, and in part to permit a modest increase in the group's Ukrainian language publishing distribution in line with the increase for such activity approved by the President for the program as a whole. Under existing guidelines, a 20% increase in funding an approved special activity does not represent a "significant change" which would require a new Presidential finding.

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1. The Ukrainian emigre group mentioned in the covering memorandum is the ZP/UHVR (Foreign Representation, Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council). The Supreme Liberation Council was established in the Soviet Ukraine in 1944, as an advisory council to the Ukrainian Partisan Army, to give political and ideological direction to guerrilla operations against the Germans and later the Soviets. The Foreign Representation of the Council was established in Germany in early 1946 to continue the struggle for Ukrainian independence and self-determination with the aid of Ukrainian intellectuals who had escaped to the West from the Soviet Union. The ZP/UHVR does not consider itself a Ukrainian emigre political party but cooperates with a wide range of moderate Ukrainian emigre political groups as well as with other groups fighting Soviet oppression, including Russians, Jews, Balts, Poles and Central Asians. The ZP/UHVR has members or supporters in various countries of Europe, in Canada, Australia and the U.S., most of whom have citizenship in their countries of residence.

2. The Agency established an operational relationship with the ZP/UHVR in 1949 initially for foreign intelligence and counter-intelligence activities but later also for covert and political action. The primary action element of the ZP/UHVR is the Prolog Research Corporation which was set up in New York City in 1953 as a non-profit research organization with a publishing affiliate in Munich, Germany. At the present time, Prolog is primarily a publication and distribution operation. Its Munich affiliate publishes in Ukrainian a monthly political-literary journal, "Suchasnist," a quarterly letter-sized news bulletin about dissident activity in the Ukraine, and a variety of books and pamphlets. Prolog publications are directed to the Soviet Ukrainian target audience, not to emigres in the West, and cover Soviet internal and external policies and developments from the viewpoint of a Soviet Ukrainian. They also provide a forum for Soviet Ukrainian writers and intellectuals to publish those works which would be suppressed in the Soviet Ukraine.

3. In order to get its published material into the Soviet Ukraine, the ZP/UHVR has forged a distribution mechanism in both East and West Europe, using trusted persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin, such as emigres, academics and tourists, as well as individuals not of Ukrainian background who have legitimate travel access to the Soviet Ukraine. In addition to infiltration of materials into the Soviet Ukraine, these persons frequently exfiltrate a wide variety of information and samizdat from the Soviet Ukraine. In addition, a large amount of material such as the quarterly news bulletin and smaller pamphlets and booklets are mailed into the Soviet Ukraine from various points around the world.

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4. This is the only Agency covert action program currently targeted against a minority nationality in the Soviet Union. The program seeks to exploit nationalist and dissident tendencies in the Soviet Ukraine and, thereby, to exert pressure on the Soviet regime to grant increased political and intellectual freedom. The ZP/UHVR has a symbolic value far greater than its size (a total of some 25 individuals) as a focal point of opposition to Soviet repression in the Ukraine and by extension in other Soviet minority areas. Probably the best proof of the success of this program is the continuing wide range of attacks in the Soviet Ukrainian press against the ZP/UHVR, its leaders, and the ideas which they espouse in their publications.

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